221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 ●484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because [276] they gave a better flavor" (FP,ES,SM).

[p. 11(b)]

428 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given
768 away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

428 If man left 3 sackfuls shell money at his death,
556 son "might save out 2 of them from his father's
768 burning and keep them" to help establish himself as a rich man; this was all right, "because that relation (deceased) would know the son was going to burn that money again later on" (i.e., when son himself died). Man's bow, arrows usually not burnt because "they were hard to make"; deceased woman's mortars, metate, mullers, sometimes necklace, some of her baskets might also be saved by her relatives.

221 Movements and trade.- From Feb. through middle
484 of Aug., food-gathering activities kept Tübatulabal shifting about in family groups in lower altitudes (2000-4000 ft.), chiefly in lower and upper Sonoran life zones, in valleys, foothills, river canyons. From Aug. to middle of Nov., groups moved into higher altitudes (5000-6000 ft.), first E to piñon grounds on w. slopes of Sierra Nevadas in Transition zone, then W to acorn grounds in Greenhorn mts. in upper Sonoran zone; family groups or individuals might also go on trading trips after piñon harvest. During short winter season from middle of Nov. to Feb., family groups returned to valley-foothill region in lower and upper Sonoran zones and men did some hunting, fishing, and procured salt from desert, but at this season people "mainly stayed home, not doing anything" (SM) and lived in small hamlets (fig. 11).

487 Adults, in couples or small groups, also trav-
484 eled quite a bit outside home area (SM); Powers, 1875, met a Palagewan at Tule R. reservation who had visited Hopi (Powers, 394). Desire to trade, to hunt, fish, or gather food in certain areas, to play games, obtain services of shaman among reasons mentioned for taking trips. To E, Tübatulabal went as far as Randsburg on Mohave desert; to S, SW to Tejon in Tehachapi mts. and to Chumash villages near Ventura on Pacific coast; to W as far as Tulare lake, in central San Joaquin valley. As girl FP had camped on desert (see Autobiography of FP); SM as boy of 9 had been to Tejon ranch and Ventura with his father; in going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche creek to 2 Chumash villages, makakak and alko·laupal, near Ventura. Trip took 2 days on foot to Tejon, 2 more days from Tejon to Ventura (SM). MM's narrative of trip from Tejon to Caliente confirms former part of this

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tübatulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.
487

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hïštïh, cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hïštïh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hïštïh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hïštïh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hïštïh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hïštïh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we
[245] returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left; he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

159 ing over; everybody here stopped going. The last
484 time we went to Visalia we left Annie and Irene
up at Onyx and then they went to Riverside, to
school down there.

159 I was feeling good all that time. We always
221 used to go live at Canebrake in the summer, and
753 then we'd come down to the Mack ranch in winter,
so that Esther and Johnnie could go to school at
Weldon. At the Mack ranch though I began to
dream bad again; I'd see one woman whom I don't
know, holding my head. That's why my ear hurts
now; I have been sick like that for 4 yrs.

159 Then we had to leave our house at the Mack
ranch. A white man wanted to live in that house.
We moved up to Rafael Chico's place; they kept
asking us at the Onyx rancheria, "Why don't you
move up here, to Rafael's?" But there were too
many drunken men around up there; they would come
and fight inside the houses. We didn't like that.
And those witches live too close to Rafael's. I
was sick all the time up there. We lived there 2
months; I coughed, coughed all the time. So 2
yrs. ago last April we moved down here (near
Weldon) from there. When we moved down here I
got well. But last summer I got this cough again,
only not so bad as I have it now. I can't do
much now; I can't make tobacco this year, because
I'm too sick. We got lots last year; enough to
last this year too, I think. I got some chia seeds
last year too, over by the little hill in Charley
Andress' meadow. But it's too hot to go cut the
tobacco this year, and kneeling hurts me. I'd
like to go to that Indian doctor they have over
at Bishop; there's a good one over there. Maybe
Legora and I will go over this fall. If I could
see that doctor I think I'd be all right again.

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut.
February 20, 1936.

[p. 80(b)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

PERSONAL ANECDOTES

23. JOURNEY FROM TEJON

1. Once we came from Tejon to South Fork. 2. Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning. 3. Straightway we came to the mountains. 4. "Don't you go there in the tall mountains, (there) are many bears," they say. 5. "Good," we say when it is being said. 6. I (am) with my wife. 7. We came on foot. 8. Then we came to the middle of the mountains. 9. At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty. 10. There we are standing; (there is) no water (of) our bringing. 11. Then from there we looked down the canyon. 12. Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon. 13. Then I said to my wife, "I don't know but that water is standing there," I say. 14. From there we went toward the canyon. 15. We arrived there by the cottonwood trees. 16. Nothing; the water is dried up. 17. From there we took leave. 18. We are already very thirsty. 19. (It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley. 20. Already it is getting dark. 21. From there we came toward Caliente, (which was) far away yet. 22. From there we had to go about twenty miles. 23. Already we are getting tired. 24. In spite of this, we are coming. 25. Then we came and arrived at Caliente; at eleven o'clock at night we arrived. 26. There we slept.

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24. DEER HUNT

1. Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam in the big mountains. 2. Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain. 3. From there I tracked the deer. 4. He went far away; he crossed the ridge in the canyon. 5. I am going (after) his tracks standing (there). 6. Far away he came out on the summit. 7. I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there). 8. There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going. 9. Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away. 10. Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away). 11. Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him. 12. He came and dropped down dead. 13. Then from there I went when I saw him. 14. There I skinned him. 15. Then I packed him. 16. From there I came toward home. 17. I (am) the one who packs the deer. 18. Then, "Good," says the old man, when he sees it, "pretty soon we get full," says the old man.

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25. FIESTA NEAR BISHOP

1. Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived. 2. Then the fiesta got fixed. 3. Then I went from there; (there are) many people. 4. From every place people came. 5. Then they danced, and (there is) hand-game, and (there is) much gambling. 6. (There are) many people. 7. We are dancing every night. 8. (There are) many women; (there is) much copulation. Six days dancing occurred. 9. Then they quit their own dancing; from there they went and went, the people. 10. From there I went toward Bishop. 11. It is all.

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26. TRIP TO ISABELLA

1. Yesterday we went toward Isabella. 2. Then it is very hot; (there is) no wind. 3. Then we came back from there. 4. Then the wind blows on us when we return. 5. Then we arrived in our own house. 6. Then we ate when we arrived. 7. Then, having finished eating, I went from there toward Chogil's. 8. Then the wife of Chogil is cooking when we arrived. 9. Then Chogil fed us again. 10. Then from there we came back. 11. Then we ate again when we arrived. 12. Then we got very full. 13. Then I did not yield to my own sleep when I was full. 14. Then, when it was the middle of the night, I slept.

539X